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ALEXANDER MACBAIN, M.A., F.S.A. Scot.

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THE PICTS.

II.

[BY PROVOST MACANDREW.]

THE attempt to trace the Picts all over Europe and Asia by their name of Picts always appears to me to be childish. The people of the Northern part of Britain were first called by the name of Picts by Eumenius, who was a professor of rhetoric, and a writer of panygerics in or about the year 297. Previous to that time the inhabitants of Caledonia had been known to the Romans as Caledonians, Dicaledonæ and Vecturiones, Meatae, and other names; and Ptolemy, who lived in the second century, and gives a detailed geographical account of Britain, mentions various tribes as inhabiting Scotland, but none with names in the least resembling Picts or Picti, although on the west coast of northern Argyle and Inverness he places two tribes, named respectively Creones and Cerones—names bearing some resemblance to Cruithne as it is pronounced. There is no doubt that very soon after the time of Eumenius the name became the one always used by the Roman writers for the people of Northern Britain, and in the earliest books we have by native Scottish or Irish writers it is the name which they also use when writing in Latin. The fact remains, however, that Picti was a Latin name given to the people in the end of the third century, and not sooner; while it is certain that among themselves and their neighbours, who did not speak Latin, they were known as Cruithne. To connect this people, therefore, with Pictavia and the Pictones in France, known by these names in the time

of Julius Cæsar, or with places or peoples in Europe or Asia which bore a somewhat similar name, and which could not have been colonised by Scottish Picts after they became known by that name, seems absurd.

The usual assumption is that the Picts were so called by the Romans because they painted themselves, or tattooed themselves, and that the name signified the painted people. There is no end of authority for this; but it is remarkable that, with the exception of Julius Cæsar and Herodian, all the writers who talk of the Picts painting or tattooing themselves, write after the name was given, and that for 200 years the Romans were in contact with the people without giving them any such name. Innes accounts for this by saying that all the inhabitants of Britain had at one time painted themselves, that by the end of the third century the inhabitants of the Roman province had given up the practice, and that hence the name was given to the Northern people, who still practised it. This is ingenious; but by the end of the third century the Romans were well acquainted with the Saxons, who are also said to have painted themselves, and also with the Scots from Ireland, who were at least not more civilised than the Picts, and who would probably not differ from their neighbours in a practice of this kind, so that even at that time the peculiarity would not have been confined to the Caledonians. On the other hand, it is said that the name which the people gave themselves in their own language means the same or nearly the same as the Latin word, and if this is so we must assume either that the people had named themselves from a practice which was not peculiar to them in early times, if we are to accept the statements of historians on the point, or that they adopted a Roman nick-name, translated it into their own language, and invented an eponym bearing the name for themselves. Neither of these assumptions is probable; and for myself I cannot help entertaining a suspicion that the Romans translated the word *Cruithne* into *Picti*, and that all the stories about painting and tattooing mainly arose round that word. This is clear, that no trace of such a custom remained to historic times, or has left any trace of its existence in native legend or literature; that Tacitus, who had his information from Agricola, does not mention any such custom; and that the writers

who tell us about the tattooing also tell us many things which cannot be other than travellers' tales, such as that our mountains were waterless, that our ancestors went about naked, that they passed days in wading up to their waists in rivers and arms of the sea, or immersed in bogs; and even Tacitus tells us that the water of our seas was thick and sluggish, and difficult for the rower, and that it was never disturbed by storms.

Beyond establishing that the name of Picts can give us no assistance in tracing the history or migrations of the people, we must leave the question of the name in an unsatisfactory condition. If any information is to be derived from the name it must be from the name *Cruithne* which the people called themselves, and as yet philologists are not agreed on the meaning of this name—some deriving it from a root which means form, and others from a root which means wheat. It would be interesting if we could establish that our ancestors were the first who introduced the cultivation of wheat into Britain.

As to the language, the first question to be settled—and it is yet very far from settlement—is whether the Picts spoke a separate language or not. The case of those who assert that they did rests mainly on the authority of Bede and of Adamnan. The former says:—"This island at present, following the number of the Books in which the Divine law was written, contains five nations, the English, Britons, Scots, Picts, and Latins, each in its own peculiar dialect cultivating the sublime study of Divine truth. The Latin tongue is by the study of the Scriptures become common to all the rest." Now, Bede was a monk, and not free from the conceits and fancies of monkish writers. In this passage he wishes to make the nationalities and languages or dialects in which Divine truth was studied equal to the number of the books of Moses, and to do so he drags in a nationality which did not exist in Britain in his time—viz., the Latin. To make up five languages he required the Pictish, and looking to the object he had in making up the number five, I think it may very safely be held that the passage does not necessarily imply more than that the Picts spoke a dialect different from that of the Britons and the Scots. The authority of Adamnan is not so easily disposed of. He mentions two instances in which St. Columba

had to use an interpreter in explaining the word to inhabitants of Albyn. On one occasion the Saint was in Skye, and an old man, named Artbranan, the chief of the Geona Cohors, arrived in a boat, and, being carried to his feet, was instructed by him through an interpreter and was baptised. The river in which he was baptised was called after him "Dobur Artbranan." There is nothing in the passage to indicate where Artbranan came from, but it can only be assumed, as he was in a dying condition, that he came from some neighbouring part of Skye or the Mainland, and these at the time were undoubtedly inhabited by Picts. In the other instance Columba is said to have been tarrying for some days in the Province of the Picts, when a certain peasant, who, with his whole family, listened to and learned through an interpreter the word of life, was baptised. These passages seem to imply that talking to Picts Columba required an interpreter, but it is argued that, even if he did, a different language is not necessarily implied, and that a different dialect of the same language would equally account for the necessity. On the other hand there are numerous instances mentioned of conversations between Columba and Picts, and of discussions between him and the Pictish Druids without any mention of an interpreter. So far, therefore, as historic authority goes, it does not necessarily or even probably establish a distinct language. And certainly not a non-Celtic language.

The remains of what is said to be the Pictish language are sufficiently meagre. Bede mentions one word, "Peanfahel," the head or end of the wall. O'Curry says there is only one word of the language remaining, viz., "Cartit"—a pin, which is given in Cormac's Glossary. One of the monastic registers gives us "Scollofthes," given in Latin as "Scolasticus," but meaning some inferior monastic grade of persons who devoted themselves to the cultivation of land, and from other sources we have "Ur" and "Diuperr," the latter meaning a rich man. These, and the names of the Pictish kings and a few names of places, are all that remain. As to what these words prove, philologists are not agreed, and the question must be left with them, and I would merely remark that the manner in which some of them dabble Celtic Picts, non-Aryan Picts, Goidels, and Brythons all over the country, on the authority of a chance word or name, appears utterly rash and unscientific.

If anything is to be established on philological grounds, every word said on any ground to be Pictish, and every place name in the district inhabited by the people, should be distinctly and separately analysed, and when this is done we shall know whether philology can tell us anything on the subject or not.

To me it always appears that it is vain to contend that the Picts spoke a non-Gaelic language. They composed a separate and organised kingdom from the time of Columba (565) to the time of Kenneth Macalpin (850) at least, and, giving all possible effect to the fact that during that time they had a clergy mainly Scottish, who used the Scottish language as the language of culture and literature, it cannot be supposed that, if in Columba's time they spoke a language of a different family from the Gaelic, it would not have left broad and unmistakable marks in the topography of the country, and in the Gaelic language which they adopted.

The physical characteristics have given also much ground for controversy. The question of broad and long skulls may be dismissed on the ground that, even if this peculiarity indicated a distinction of race—and this is not now held to be entirely established—it proves nothing about the Picts. The authority of Tacitus has been much relied on as proving that the Caledonians who are assumed—and, I think, justly assumed—to be the same as the people afterwards called Picts—were Teutonic. In discussing the question of the origin of the inhabitants of Britain, he says that the temperament of body is various “whence deductions are formed of their different origin”; and thus he says the large limbs and red hair of the Caledonians point to a German origin. This is, however, a mere inference, and in a general survey he says that the probability is that Britain was peopled from Gaul—that the sacred rites and superstitions were similar, and that the language of the two peoples did not greatly differ. We know now that large limbs and red or fair hair were as much characteristics of Celts as of Germans, and we are as well able to draw inferences from the possession of them as Tacitus. In a poem, said to be very ancient, and describing events in the reign of Conaire Mor, who was king of Ireland, and died about the year 30 B.C., three exiles from Cruithentuath are described as great brown men, with round heads of hair of equal length at poll and forehead. These,

so far as I have seen, are the only descriptions of the physical characteristics of Picts, and they really prove nothing.

When we come to the customs of the Picts we get on a subject of great interest and difficulty. I dismiss the stories of Roman writers about cannibalism, community of women, children belonging to the tribe and not to the parents, and the pauper King, who was not allowed to have either wife or property, as mere travellers' tales. Tacitus says nothing of any such customs, and in the speech which he puts into the mouth of Galgacus he treats the family relations as thoroughly well established among the Caledonians. In Adamnan there is abundant evidence that marriage was thoroughly recognised among the Picts in Columba's time, and there are frequent mention of wife and family, and of wives as possessing an influential position in the family. And courtesans are frequently mentioned as a disgraceful class. So far there is nothing to show that the Picts were in a different stage of civilisation from the rest of the inhabitants of Britain. They had, however, one custom, the evidence of which is distinct, and which is very singular. Bede gives the legend about the Picts having arrived in Britain without wives, and applying to the Scots for them, who gave them on condition, "that when any difficulty should arise they should choose a king from the female royal race rather than from the male, which custom, as is well known, has been observed among the Picts to this day." And here Bede is corroborated by the lists of Pictish kings in all the chronicles in which a list is given. In no case does a son succeed a father, and in no case does a father of any king himself appear in the list of kings; and yet there is no mention of a female sovereign. In later times we know that foreigners were the fathers of the Scottish kings. Bile, the King of Alclyde, was father of one of the Brudes. Maelchon, a Welsh leader, was father of another Brude. A brother of one of the kings of Northumberland was father of another Pictish king; and on one occasion two brothers were kings of the Picts and of Dalriada respectively at the same time. There can be little doubt that Kenneth MacAlpin or his father claimed the Pictish throne, in right of succession to a mother of the royal race. It will be seen that this custom is very peculiar. It is not a case of the right of women to succeed and

reign, but of men succeeding and reigning in virtue of their being sons of their mother and not of their father. It is supposed that this custom pointed to a state of society in which there was promiscuous intercourse between the sexes, and there was therefore no certain paternity, and our distinguished townsman, Mr. J. F. MacLennan, has shown in his book on primitive marriage that probably all races passed through such a stage. But it is well established that the Aryan races had passed through this stage and established the institution of marriage before they left their original home in Central Asia. And it is contended therefore that this custom indicated a non-Aryan origin of the Picts. It is to be observed, however, that among them the custom seems to have been confined to the Royal family and to succession to the throne, and that it did not, so far as the list of kings show, or so far as Bede indicates, show any uncertainty as to the paternity of the kings—the names of the fathers are always given and not the names of the mothers. Except on the supposition that it was a survival from a time when intercourse was promiscuous and paternity uncertain, it is difficult to account for such a custom, and there is no doubt that it constitutes a difficulty, and the main difficulty in the way of belief in the Picts as an Aryan people. No explanation has yet been given of it.

On the whole, then, and although the question is not free from doubt, it will be seen that the great weight of evidence goes to show the Picts were a Celtic Gaelic-speaking people, and it is probable that they were the earliest immigration of that people into Britain, and came, as their own legends tell, from Scythia, that is North-Germany, which undoubtedly was peopled by Celts before it was peopled by Germans.

MACDONALD AND MACLEOD OF THE '45.

[BY C. FRASER-MACKINTOSH, M.P.]

SOME years ago, in course of casual conversation with a Skyeman, intelligent beyond his position in life, the subject of the conduct in 1745 of Sir Alexander Macdonald of Sleat, and Norman Macleod of Macleod came up, when he stated that ill-fortune from that time followed them, and that it would have been well for their posterity had they risen for Prince Charles. Circumstances have occurred and papers fallen in my way since that meeting, which have given a point to the last statement, which at the moment I looked upon as so idle and without significance, that I did not pursue the subject.

Lord Mahon in his "Forty-Five" says of these two chiefs that "their object being to wait for events, and to side with the victorious, they professed zeal to both parties."

Macleod attended a meeting in Stratherrick of the Prince's friends, and concurred in what was resolved upon; and although Sir Alexander Macdonald is not recorded as having taken any overt step, his views were well known. They kept quiet, answered no letters, and so much disappointed the Highland Chiefs in arms, that those gentlemen, the day after the unfurling of the Standard at Glenfinnan, addressed them in the following memorable words (see State Papers, Domestic, 1746⁶/₇, No. 93):—"We cannot but express the greatest surprise, as well as concern, at your manner of acting on the present occasion, than which no two subjects ever had a greater, to deserve eternal honour, or eternal infamy. The King's restoration or the ruin of his family: the liberty or destruction of your country will lie chiefly at your door. Consider how often you have expressed your readiness to join the Prince, though he should come alone to deliver his country from the oppression it has so long groaned under. Consider how much the influence of men of your figure have drawn others in to think you were in earnest, and resolved to do the same. The case has now happened. The Prince, upon the repeated assurance of the disposition of his faithful Highlanders, has thrown himself into our arms, with a

firm resolution never to abandon us. He has been received by us, and others whom we expect to-day or to-morrow, with the greatest joy, and we have with the greatest alacrity undertaken his cause. We have already drawn the sword, and are resolved not to sheath it till death or victory shall free us from a foreign yoke. You may easily foresee the consequences of the one or the other. And it would be very extraordinary in men of your judgment to imagine that you alone could be safe, when the rest of us are rooted out. We desire you to think seriously of this, as well as of the assurances you have lately given to some of us who have spoken to you. The Prince has written to you twice, and received no answer. Should we meet with the same usage, we should think it, however, very extraordinary. But we still hope for better things."

From this scathing indictment it is obvious that Macdonald and Macleod, had over and over again pledged their support.

Norman Macleod was a spendthrift, and grievously wasted his substance, consisting of no less than six baronies—Minginish, Duirinish, Dunvegan, Waternish, Harris, and Glenelg—dying at an advanced age, so enormously in debt that three of the baronies disappeared within a period of less than fifty years after his death. Supposing he had gone out in the '45, and his estates been forfeited, the result would have been a nursing and careful administration of the estates by the Forfeited Estates Commissioners, for a period of 30 to 40 years, to be restored to his grandson, like the Lovat, Lochiel, Drummond, and other estates, with the most of their encumbrances purged.

The Skyeman was thus not so far wrong when he said it would be well for his posterity had Macleod gone out in 1745. His picture, that of a well-formed man, but sinister expression, taken in what looks like a Highland dress in Rob Roy tartan, hangs on the wall of the dining-hall at Dunvegan Castle, as also those of his two wives. No one can look at the sweet face of the first without commiserating her unhappy fate. So much for the Macleods on the present occasion.

Next as to the Macdonalds. Their decadence arose from another cause, but which also might have been avoided by their forfeiture and sticking up for their principles to their "eternal

honour," according to the words of the letter before quoted. Ambition caused the fall of the Macdonalds.

Sir Alexander Macdonald possessed the twenty pounds land of old extent of Slate, the forty pound lands of old extent of North Uist, the eighty merk lands of Trotternish, and various other lands in Skye and Uist; with the superiority over Clanranald's lands of Skirrheugh, Benbecula, Gergriminish, and others, as also the superiority of Macneill of Barra's lands, and a valuable tenement in the Canongate of Edinburgh, which let as high as ten pounds sterling per month to the Earl of Glencairn. He had also large sums of money owing to him by John Macdonell of Glengarry; by Robert Murray of Glencarnoch; and Evan his brother; the notorious Allan Macdonald of Knock, the young Raasay, Donald Macleod of Unish; Roderick Macdonald of Bornaskittaig; Archibald Macdonald of Tarskavaig; Mr. John Macpherson, minister of Slate; James Macdonald of Dalveill; John Macdonald of Kinlochdale; Ronald MacAllister in Kingsburgh; Donald Macdonald of Castleton; Ranald Macdonald of Clanranald; Duncan Campbell, drover in Ardkinglass; Alexander Macdonald of Kingsburgh; John Macdonald of Kirkibost; and Evan Macdonald of Vallay. Among Sir Alexander Macdonald's assets at his death were the following:—£300 stg., reimbursement for levying the companies of James Macdonald of Aird and John Macdonald of Kirkibost, raised at the expense of Sir Alexander Macdonald, who had been instrumental in procuring the command of them for these two persons. At his death there were upwards of one hundred head of black cattle on his farm of Mugstot, and cash about his residence and in his repositories at his death, towards the end of 1746, of the great value in those days of £522 9s. sterling. In passing, it may be mentioned that of this money £20 belonged to Clanranald, £50 to Clanranald's brother, and £15 to the Laird of Barra, all at the time prisoners in London, and given by their friends to Sir Alexander Macdonald, to be conveyed to them as opportunities offered.

With this great estate, heritable and moveable, the Macdonalds were not satisfied. True they had Trotternish at the north and Slate at the south, but nothing would satisfy except they possessed the whole east coast of Skye, from north to south, necessitating

the expropriation of Mackinnon and of Raasay from the east coast of Skye.

This fatal course was adopted. Sir Alexander Macdonald at his death had acquired right to the following debts due by The Mackinnons. £1574 17s. 2d. Scots by bond by John Mackinnons, elder and younger of Mackinnon, and Neil Mackinnon, son to the deceased Lachlan Mackinnon of Corrychatachan, dated 26th February, and 18th March, 1729; £2000 merks Scots, due by young Mackinnon, by bond, 22nd Sept., 1736, to Archibald Macdonald of Ostavaig, assigned to Sir Alexander Macdonald; £1000 Scots, due by young Mackinnon, by bond dated 17th July, 1733, to Roderick Macleod of Ulinish, assigned to Sir Alexander; 1000 merks, by bond, by young Mackinnon, dated 7th December, 1736, to Mr. Alexander Nicolson, minister of the Gospel, assigned to Sir Alexander; 1000 merks, by bond, by young Mackinnon and Neill Mackinnon, son to Corrychatachan, to the said Mr. Alexander Nicolson, dated 12th August, 1729, assigned to Sir Alexander; 5000 merks, in heritable bond, by young Mackinnon, to the said Mr. Alexander Nicolson, dated 25th Sept., 1733; £4415, due by young Mackinnon to John Macleod, by bill dated 1st October, 1741, endorsed to Sir Alexander; also tack of the five-penny land of Kinlochindale, part of the Barony of Mackinnon, by the said Mackinnon, younger, to the said Alexander Nicolson for 38 years, from Whitsunday, 1734, assigned to Sir Alexander.

It is curious that Sir Alexander was so pleased with his tack of Kinlochindale that he lived there, as is shown by the circumstance of his being at that place when young Barisdale made his submission in the month of June, 1746, as narrated in his defence. All these accumulations of debts were too much for the ancient Mackinnons, who had to dispose the bulk of their estate to Sir Jas. Macdonald, Sir Alexander's eldest son and successor. Charles Mackinnon of Mackinnon, who sold the remainder of the estate to the Macallisters, fell into such poverty that he committed suicide from sheer want about the end of last century.

It may be noted that, with regard to these debts, Sir Alexander Macdonald intended putting them into the hands of his Edinburgh agent, John Mackenzie of Delvin, to be operated upon,

but as it happened and is recorded they "were in the year 1745 lodged by the said Sir Alexander Macdonald in the hands of Mr. Macdonell of Glengarry, who had been casually in the Isle of Skye, and was then intending a journey to Edinburgh, to be delivered to the said John Mackenzie, but the rebellion and confusions coming on stopt Glengarry's journey, who, being soon thereafter made prisoner himself, these writts were only lately recovered out of his possession." (April, 1752.)

Next, as to the Macleods of Raasay—Sir Alexander Macdonald had acquired the following debts:—£350 12s. Scots, due by young Raasay; By Malcolm Macleod of Raasay, by bill dated 21st Sept., 1742, £40 stg.; By another bill of same date, £8 6s. 8d. stg.; By another, dated 11th January, 1744, £1 6s. 1½d. stg.; By bill, dated 13th April, 1745, 18s. stg.; By bill, dated 24th June, £2 15s., to Roderick Macdonald, and endorsed to Sir Alexander.

The Raasay Skye estate fell to the Macdonalds, but they over-reached themselves. Debts sprang up and accumulated, an Irish Peerage had to be transacted for, and elections cost untold sums, so that North Uist and Trotternish had to be disposed of. As in the case of the Macleods, their forfeiture through adherence to the Stuarts might have been their salvation

UNPUBLISHED PROVERBS.

*Chan fhaiceadh duine air muin eich agus e
teicheadh le bheatha e.*

A man on horseback fleeing for his life would
not observe it.

*Cha robh naigheachd mhor riamh gun chall
do chuideigin.*

Great news never was without loss to some one.

Cha toir bean-an-tighe nuas an rud nach bi shuas.

The house-wife cannot bring down what is not
up. *Ex nihil nihil.*

Chuir e an car-geal dheth.

He turned up his white side; in other words, he
died. A fish after being played out turns
up his white side.

NOTES ON SUPERSTITIONS AS TO BURYING SUICIDES IN THE HIGHLANDS.

[BY ALEX. ROSS, F.G.S., F.S.A. SCOT.]

SOME time ago my attention was called to the grave of a suicide in the district of Torridon, and, after some manœuvring, I managed to visit it.

The story, as told to me, was that a woman, who had committed suicide many years ago, was buried in a lonely dell, and that the grave was still visited by people suffering from epilepsy.

They are in the habit of visiting it and drinking out of the skull, which had been converted into a drinking cup for the purpose. I desired much to visit the spot to judge for myself, and, after some hesitation, a workman, who had been let into the secret, offered to guide me to the spot, for, he said, "the people disliked strangers visiting it, and were extremely shy of referring to the custom, though many of the people from Lochcarron and the surrounding district often come from long distances to be cured." Starting off the high road at the head of the Loch, we wandered round the shoulder of the hill a few hundred yards and came to a sequestered dell, and in a hollow, out of sight of the sea, we found the spot. The belief is that the body must be buried in a spot out of the sight of the water. Otherwise, if in sight of the sea, the fish would desert the loch and never re-enter it.

My guide, though generally acquainted with the district, had only once before visited the grave, and had some difficulty, and almost failed, in leading me to the exact spot. Judging from the nature of the case, and from a habit of hunting for such things, I was able, after a short survey of the lay of the ground, to form my conclusions, and, after a short hunt, came on what seemed to me a likely spot. And my idea was confirmed by observing some broken bottles near by, and in which the water used had been carried up to the grave, for there was no well nor water close to it. The grave was covered by a broken slab. It had originally been some four or five feet long and six inches thick, but had been broken across; on turning over the smaller fragment at the west end, I found the portion of the roof of a human skull

about 5 or 6 inches in diameter and just sufficient to form a saucer-like vessel. It was in a small cavity under the stone, and, judging by the surroundings, must have been recently used. On further enquiry, I found that, all along the West Coast, suicide is regarded with special horror, and even the friends of an unfortunate, who "*Thainig-è-ris fhein*"—"That came to himself," are regarded with more than ordinary awe and avoided.

I noticed an article in the *Scotsman* the other day which gives a very good account of a case which occurred at Lochbroom, and it is a very good illustration of the superstition. I give it in full:—

"EXTRAORDINARY SUPERSTITION.—An occurrence took place in Ullapool on Saturday which illustrates the strong hold that old superstitions still retain among the people of the Highlands. A woman of weak intellect named Ann Macrae, about 70 years of age, who resided with a sister and nephew at Moss Cottages, scarcely half a mile from the village, committed suicide by drowning herself in the Ullapool river. On Friday evening she went to bed about seven o'clock, and in two hours afterwards she was missed. Nothing more was seen of her till next morning, when her body was observed in a pool in the river not far from her house. No one, however, seemed to care to have the body recovered until the police got notice of the affair, and two constables were dispatched to the place. Notwithstanding the difficulty experienced in bringing the body ashore, owing to the depth at which it lay and the rocky surroundings of the place, not a soul in the crowd which began to gather would render the slightest assistance, though repeatedly asked to do so. The police, however, ultimately managed to recover the body, and as the deceased was a pauper, the inspector of poor and the medical officer of the parish were sent for. After the latter had examined the body and certified that there were no external marks of violence, it was removed to an outhouse, the use of which was granted by Mr. K. Mackenzie of Moorfields, as neither friend nor neighbour of the deceased would give the corpse admission upon any account. A coffin was at once got, and a horse and cart procured to convey the body to the village burying-ground. By this time a crowd of about sixty men had collected. They deforced the authorities, and peremptorily refused to allow the remains of a suicide to be taken to any burying-ground which was within sight of the sea or of cultivated land, as such a step would prove disastrous both to fishing and to agriculture, or, in the words of the almost universal

belief of the crofting-fishing community of the North-West, it would cause *famine (or dearth) on sea and land*. Some of those in the crowd found great fault with the police for taking the body out on the wrong side of the river! The police, of course, were powerless against such numbers, and the result was that the horse was unyoked and the cart on which the remains lay was wheeled about and conveyed for several miles over the hills, where, beyond sight of sea and cultivated land, the body was unceremoniously deposited in mother earth. The police, who followed at a respectable distance, noted that the remains were buried about three miles from Ullapool, on the way to Rhidorroch Forest. The Fiscal at Dingwall has been communicated with, and it is expected that investigations will be made into the affair. This belief regarding suicides is deeply rooted, and the custom has generally been to inter them in out-of-the-way places among the lonely solitudes of the mountains, and such burials are not by any means uncommon. A few years ago the body of a man who had committed suicide was washed ashore on Little Loch Broom. A rough deal box was hastily made, into which the corpse was put, after which all the tools used were sunk in the sea. The box with its ghastly cargo was then towed by ropes across the Loch, thence dragged up the hillsides to a lonely nook behind that range of mountains which stretches to the west of Dundonnell, where the box, ropes and all, was hastily buried. According to the popular belief, had the body been left in the loch or on shore within sight of it, not a single herring would have ventured near it."

A similar case occurred at Loch Inver. The man was a shepherd, and committed suicide four or five years ago. A coffin was required to be made. For some time nobody would undertake the job, but at last a carpenter was found. He made a rough deal box, and all the spare tools and the remainder of the nails used in making the coffin were deposited in it and buried. The hammer and those articles remaining after were thrown into the sea.

"Nether-Lochaber," with his wonted kindness, has sent me a contribution from his locality. He says:—"There is close by the shore at North Ballachulish a level spot, green and grassy, round which black thorn bushes grow in something like parallel-gram form as if they had been planted, and this spot has long been held in superstitious horror by the people, it being alleged that blue flame lights are seen about it, and weird, wild sobs and

early morning." "Nether-Lochaber" suspected that this may have been the site of a chapel in old Catholic times. After much inquiry, however, he found, through the late Bishop Murdoch, that there never was a chapel here, but that the spot had been set aside in Catholic times as a place of burial for unbaptised infants and *suicides*. Dr. Stewart could find no trace of such a tradition amongst the people. They simply viewed it as a ghost-haunted and uncanny spot. Why they could not tell. It was only by applying to Bishop Murdoch that the fact of its having been a place of burial for unbaptised infants and suicides was discovered. He gives another instance of the horror of anything connected with suicides, which occurred in Lochaber also. "The bed, to the posts of which a woman hanged herself, was broken to pieces and thrown into the sea at the beginning of ebb."

In Kintail similar cases have occurred, and in one case the late Mr. Morrison, the minister of Kintail, insisted on giving the suicide's body Christian burial amongst his friends. It was long resisted, a dire loss to the district from the frightening away of the herring likely to result, if the body was buried within sight of the sea. The minister prevailed, and the next three years were the best fishing years that had been for a long time.

Regarding the cure of epilepsy, a curious practice is still continued on the West Coast; it is of making the epileptic drink of the water in which a corpse has been washed, and the idea is some way allied to that of drinking out of the skull. One naturally wonders what can have been the origin of these superstitious practices which have lingered so long in the Highlands. That they are of very ancient date there can be no doubt, for the horror of the suicide was widespread, and it is often referred to by ancient writers, as also is the idea that spectres and ghosts came out of their graves and haunted the places wherein the remains lay buried, and even the belief was that some had the power to call the ghosts out of their sepulchres. The disposal of the bodies of murderers, suicides, and unbaptised children or excommunicated persons seems to have long exercised the minds of Churchmen. And we have the practice of burying at cross roads or the back of churches, and out-of-the-way places.

It is said that St. Cuthbert, in the sixth century, first obtained

leave to have church-yards made round the churches "proper for the reception of the dead." Previous to this the practice was to bury in the fields and outside of the towns; and it may be that this association of church-yards with churches may have given at any rate strength to the strong feeling of aversion towards suicides, for as the nearer the altar, from a Christian point of view, the more honourable and sacred; the chancel and choir less so, the nave still less, and the church-yard was for the common people. This would naturally lead to the putting away of the out-casts out of sight, and in the least desirable parts, and the singular superstition regarding the part of the church-yard which lies north of the church, and the dislike to it, a writer suggests that it may "have partly arisen from the custom of praying for the dead. For, as the usual approach to this, and in most country churches, is from the south, it was natural for burials to be on that side, that those who were going to divine service might in their way be put in mind to offer up a prayer for the welfare of their souls. The natural result would be the putting away out of sight unholy things, such as suicides and the remains of unchristened bairns." It was also customary in some parts to bury suicides north and south instead of east and west, as all good Christians are. Thomas Hearne, the antiquary, was so correct in his notion that he had his grave made east and west by compass, and consequently awry to all else in the church-yard. And in *Hamlet* we have the grave-diggers discussing the subject:—

"1st Digger—'Is she to be buried in Christian burial, that wilfully seeks her own salvation?'

"2nd Digger—'I tell thee she is; and therefore make her grave straight; the crowner hath sat on her, and finds it Christian burial.'

"2nd Digger—'But is this law?'

"1st Digger—'Ay, marry, is't; crowner's quest law.'

"2nd Digger—'Will you na' the truth on't? If this had not been a gentle woman, she should have been buried out of Christian burial.'

The Priest in the 5th Act says:—

"Her obsequies have been as far enlarg'd

As we have warrantise; her death was doubtful,

And but the great command o'ersways the order,

She should in ground unsanctified have lodg'd
Till the last trumpet ; for charitable prayer,
Shards, flints, and pebbles should be thrown on her :
Yet here she is allow'd her virgin crants."

Other parts of Scotland felt strongly on the subject of suicides as well as the Highlands, for in the *Diary of Birrel* the following account is given of the treatment of a suicide in Edinburgh in 1598, viz., "that her drowned body was harled through the town backwards, and thereafter hanged on the gallows."

I had not intended to say so much on this subject, but merely to refer to the case immediately under notice, but, as no doubt many of you have come across cases in your own observation, I have referred in a general way to the subject, and suggested a few instances.

What may be the origin of the superstition as to the driving away of the herrings I cannot tell, but it seems inconsistent with the carrying out of the furniture and tools and throwing them into the sea and the experience of the people of Kintail.

The study of the causes and localisation of suicide is curious and interesting. The subject has been gone into with great care, and it is found that suicide prevails more in flat countries than in mountainous ones. Thus in Switzerland and Scotland the averages are low, and Ireland lowest of all, while the flat plains of England and the plains of Central Europe rise highest. Brain culture has a marked influence, and where education and keen competition comes in the averages rise. The former countries average 25 to 50 per million, whilst the latter runs up from 100 to 250 per million, and it may be the infrequency of the crime which renders it so startling and abhorrent to the Highlander.

I heard a curious story of a case at Bonar Bridge, in Sutherlandshire, where no one would undertake to make a coffin for the deceased. After a long discussion, all the villagers were called upon each to drive a nail. The coffin being made and all things prepared, no place could be found to bury the body. At last an old veteran offered a corner of his garden, and there under an old apple tree the body was interred, and the old soldier used to boast that after this he never missed an apple from his tree.

THE RELIGION OF THE GAULS.

[BY M. H. GAIDOZ.*]

THE religion of the Gauls is at once little known and ill known. It is little known because the documents which concern it are far from having been gathered together and classified; it is ill known because on *a priori* grounds and without proof it was for a long time considered a philosophic system. This system, and, as a consequence, the religion of the Gauls, was called by the name of *Druidism*, a word formed during this century from the name which the Gauls gave to their priests; this word consequently corresponds to no historic reality. This erroneous representation of the Gaulish religion finds explanation in the theories which at the beginning of the century guided the study of ancient religions. Under the influence of Creuzer's system, these religions were regarded as vast symbolic constructions, inspiring grand moral ideas and conveying them in brilliant and poetic myths to the ignorant crowd. The authority of some ancient writers, perhaps badly informed, the prestige which attaches to an obscure antiquity, and a patriotic enthusiasm for our national origin, all these contributed to raise the Druids and their religion beyond reality and history.

Though comparative mythology is not yet a science, and though systems succeed each other without a true theory being yet founded, nevertheless we know enough of it to form a more correct and at the same time more simple idea of ancient religions, and there is at the present time no authority for making the religion of the Gauls a primitive philosophy, still less a second revealed religion. We now know that these ancient religions are the unconscious personification of the great forces of nature, the beliefs, the desires, and the hopes of ignorant and feeble man. It is also known that besides the great myths, and besides the famous gods who ruled so to speak over the great provinces of nature, man respected and feared the living and feeling spirits throughout all nature which surrounded him, woods, meadows,

[* Translated from the French by A. M., from a pamphlet issue of an article in the *Encyclopédie des Sciences Religieuses* (date, 1879), and revised and corrected to the present time by the author.]

mountains, rivers, and fountains, and that each day of his life led to practices of devotion or incantation by which he sought to render the invisible world of spirits small or great favourable to him. This is what is now called the *lower mythology*, an element of which scientists have hitherto taken too little notice in the study of ancient religions. In the study of the religious system of the Gauls, it is necessary to distinguish two things, (1) the religion, and (2), the political and social rôle which the priestly class played in the affairs of Gaul.

I.

RELIGION.

It is too soon as yet to trace in a complete fashion the *tableau* of the Gaulish religion. The elements of the study are very varied, and the materials indispensable to these researches have not yet been brought together. The sources are in short of various kinds: there are first the testimonies of ancient writers, but these testimonies are rare, and they are the productions of men who, with the exception of Cæsar, had only a superficial knowledge of Gaul, and who often spoke of it from hearsay. There are in the second place the votive inscriptions and figured monuments.* It seldom happens that these are quite Gaulish monuments; they are works dating from the Gallo-Roman epoch, that is to say, from a time when the Gaulish mythology was already mixed with that of the conquerors. But the names of the gods of the two countries are often joined to each other, the name of the Gaulish god becoming the epithet of the corresponding Roman god; and the Gallo-Roman art, on the faces of its votive altars, often represented subjects and symbols which are not those of the Roman religion. There are then these authentic and direct testimonies, but the documents of this class, the most important perhaps, are not yet classified and described; the monuments are dispersed throughout the museums of France, and if, in default of a Corpus of the inscriptions of Gaul, the votive inscriptions have in great part been published here and there, it is not the case yet with the figured monuments. A third class of sources, lastly, are the popular traditions of France compared to those of the countries re-

* [These "figured monuments" comprise statues, sculptures, and pictorial representations. Trans.]

maining Celtic (Ireland, Scotland, Wales, and Brittany). These traditions have been as yet but imperfectly collected, merely because regard has not been had to the importance of the lower mythology. A scientific study of the Gaulish mythology ought to take account of these various elements; it ought to take account at the same time of the etymology of the god names, when this etymology is at once conformable to the laws of philology and in accord with the other data of the subject.

The general character of the Gaulish religion is concisely given by Cæsar, and Cæsar is the best authority of the ancient world for all that concerns Gaul—we should even say the only authority, had we not Strabo after him. Of course, Cæsar was not capable of understanding the nature and essence of the myths and of explaining their origin, as a student of mythology would do in our day. But his judgment is that of a man who lived a long time in Gaul and with the Gauls, who was a good observer, and who, in religious matters, although Pontiff at Rome, had one of the most free-thinking minds of his time. "The Gaulish race is all much given to practices of devotion; and on that account those who are struck with diseases of a rather serious character and those who are involved in the dangers of war, either sacrifice men by way of victims, or vow so to sacrifice, and they employ the Druids to assist them in these sacrifices. They think, in fact, that unless a man's life is rendered up for a man's life, the will of the immortal gods cannot be satisfied, and they have sacrifices of this kind as national institutions. There are some who have images of immense size; their limbs are made of wicker-work, and these they fill with living men; they are set on fire, and the men perish amid the flames. The execution of those who are caught in theft, or in pillage, or in some crime or other, they consider to be more acceptable to the immortal gods; but when the supply of such fails they have recourse even to the execution of the innocent. The god they most worship is Mercury. Of him there are very many statues; they consider him the inventor of arts, the patron of roads and journeys, and they think that he possesses the greatest influence in the pursuits of wealth and in commerce. After him they worship Apollo, Mars, Jupiter, and Minerva. About these gods they have on the whole the same belief as other

nations—that Apollo drives off diseases, that Minerva teaches the elements of trades and arts, that Jupiter holds the sway of the heavens, and that Mars presides over wars. When they resolve on engaging in fight they, as a rule, vow to him what they shall capture in war; when they are victorious they sacrifice the captured animals, and the rest of the booty they bring into one place. In a great number of *cities* there can be seen mounds of these things piled up in consecrated places; and it has not often happened that any one, to the neglect of religious duty, dared to appropriate the booty or to steal the offerings, and for this offence the severest punishment with torture is by law established. The Gauls declare themselves sprung from *Dis Pater* (Pluto), and they say that this is a doctrine taught by the Druids. For this reason, they measure every space of time by the number of nights and not by the number of days. Birthday anniversaries and the beginnings of months and years they count in such a way that the day follows the night. . . . The funerals of the Gauls are magnificent and expensive, considering their social condition; everything which they think was dear to them in life they put into the fire, even animals, and a little before our day the slaves and dependents who were known to have been loved by them were burnt along with them in the regular performance of the funeral rites."

An incontrovertible fact stands forth in this picture, and that is that the Gaulish religion was a polytheism analogous to that of the Romans and the Greeks, and that it was surrounded by a great number of *religiones* or practices of devotion. Unfortunately for us, Cæsar, in writing for the Roman people, deemed it useless to tell them the barbarian names of the Gaulish gods, and he designated them by the names of the corresponding Roman gods. We are the less able to reproach him from the fact that we ourselves, for example, often call the Greek gods by Roman names, and speak of Juno for Here and Jupiter for Zeus. He could speak in so short a notice only of the principal gods of the Gauls. The identification is difficult, and is probable only for some of the gods named by the Latin writer.

Cæsar has defined for us the genius of the Gaulish religion; the Gallo-Roman inscriptions make us acquainted with the gods, at least by their names. These divinities may be divided into two

classes. I., The great gods, or gods common to the whole of Gaul, or at least to one region. II., The topical gods, that is to say, the gods peculiar to one locality or the places themselves (towns, rivers, mountains, and fountains) personified and deified. This division itself is not absolute; a great god can become a topical or local god by the celebrity of one of his sanctuaries.

The Roman Mercury gave his name to his Gaulish fellow-god so quickly that the name of the latter has disappeared. What we can prove is the importance and universality of his worship. The votive inscriptions to MERCURY * and the statuettes of this god, often precious (one in massive silver was found in the garden of Luxembourg), are very numerous. It seems that these sanctuaries were more particularly reared in high places; that is to say, he had temples on the summit of Puy de Dôme, on the summit of the Donon, on Mount Sene, and probably at Montmartre. It has been observed that a great number of place-names have preserved for us the remembrance of the worship of Mercury: Montmercure, Mercœur, Mercoiray, Mercoire, Merçoisset, Mercuer, Mercurette, Mercurey, Mercurie, Mercurot, and Mercury. The celebrity of the Mercury of Puy de Dôme, MERCVRIVS DVMIAS, or ARVERNVS, extended over all Gaul. Mercury does not always figure alone; he is often accompanied by another divinity. There is a feminine divinity, who appears only with him as his associate; this is ROSMERTA. Sometimes the name of Mercury is accompanied by native epithets more or less obscure.

APOLLO is met with having attached to his name several Gaulish epithets, for instance, BORVO, MAPONVS, COBLEDVLITAVVS, GRANNVS, LIVIVS, etc., of which some, like BORVO and GRANNVS, are met with also alone, as the full name of the divinity. The votive inscriptions to these gods are found especially at the thermal stations† then made use of by the Gallo-Romans. BORVO has left his name at three of these stations—Bourbon-l'Archambault, Bourbon-Lancy, and Bourbonne-les-Bains—and the first of these localities gave its name to the great French dynasty. GRANNVS was the patron of the waters of

* We write in CAPITALS the names which are met with on the Gallo-Roman inscriptions.

† [The Gallo-Roman Spas. Tr.]

Aix-la-Chapelle, as the ancient name *Aquæ Granni* fully testifies. BORVO has often for associate the goddess DAMONA, and APOLLO the goddess SIRONA, who also appears alone in certain inscriptions. They are likewise goddesses of health.

MARS appears with epithets like SEGOMO, CAMVLVS, TOVTATES, CATVRIX, ALBIORIX, COCOSVS, etc. SEGOMO and CAMVLVS are also met with alone as separate gods. NEMETONA appears as companion to MARS. NEMETONA is met with in Ireland under the form of NEMON, the Irish Goddess of War, and CAMVLVS under the form of CUMHAL, father of Finn in the Ossianic tales. Mars also bears at times some local epithets which indicate a local worship of some celebrity, MARTI RANDOSATI at Randan (Puy de Dôme), MARTI VINTIO at Vence (county of Nice), SEGOMONI CVNCTINIO at Contes (county of Nice), etc., or else he is associated with the genius of a town, MARTI ET VASIONI at Vaison.

BELISAMA was probably the name of the Gaulish Minerva, if we believe a solitary inscription of it, MINERVÆ BELISAMÆ, and *Taranis* that of the Gaulish Jupiter. But it is necessary to note that the name of *Taranis*, given by ancient writers, is not found among the inscriptions, where we have IOVI TARANVCO, and elsewhere, DEO TARANVCNO, and in a third place I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) TANARO.* These different names seem to contain as radical the Celtic name of thunder. It is without doubt this god that we must see in certain statuettes representing a person holding a hammer; because the hammer is in mythology the well-known symbol of the thunder-bolt. This figure has been identified by M. A. de Barthélemy with the Dis Pater of Cæsar, but the symbolic meaning of the hammer seems to us to indicate in preference a god of the ether. Probably these two mythologic personages are often confounded.

The introduction of Roman divinities into Gaul has in fact brought the greatest confusion into the Gaulish Pantheon. Not only have the Roman names been given to the Gaulish divinities but divinities truly Roman have taken their place beside the

* Since the above was written in 1879, it has recently (1886) been found in an inscription of the South of France under the form TARANOOV, (in the dative case and in Greek characters.)

native gods. The most striking example of it is furnished us by the altars erected in the reign of Tiberius by the bargemen of Paris, and discovered in 1711 in the excavations made under the choir of Notre-Dame. Above the much-defaced bas-reliefs are seen VOLCANVS, IOVIS, ESVS, TARVOS TRIGARANVS, CASTOR, and CERNVNOS, that is to say, a mixture of native gods and stranger gods. The translation of TARVOS TRIGARANVS is rendered easy by the bas-relief which is under and which represents a bull on whose back are perched three birds; it is "the bull with the three cranes;" but this name does not carry with it the explanation of the myth it expresses. From this time forward there are met with in Gaul all the gods of Rome—HERCVLES, NEPTVNVS, DIANA, VVLCAN, the LARES GODS, and a little later the oriental gods, MITHRA, SERAPIS, ISIS, CYBELE, the SUN and the MOON.

Our undertaking not being to restore the Gaulish Pantheon but to give a general idea of the religion of the Gauls, we shall confine ourselves to naming some of the other divinities which are met with in the inscriptions after those which we have just quoted. The goddess EPONA (whose name is formed from the Gaulish word *epos* "horse") is figured on a great number of monuments and generally in the form of a woman seated on a mare of mettlesome action. One of these statuettes is found in the Cabinet des Medailles of Paris, and the pedestal is provided with an opening forming a box intended to receive the offerings of the faithful. The Gauls were great horse rearers; and Epona presided over this occupation, and doubtless over horsemanship in general. [C]ATHVBODVA, known only by an inscription of Savoy, was a goddess of war, as M. Pictet has shown, and corresponds to the Irish goddess Badhbh, which has a like sense. The mother-goddesses (*matres* or *matræ* or *matronæ* with epithets generally local), for instance MATREBO NAMAVSICABO, "to the mothers of Nîmes," and MATRIBVS TREVERIS, "to the mothers of Trèves," seem to have been the "good Ladies" or the "white Ladies" of the place, and are probably the prototype of our fairies. They are generally represented seated holding one or more infants on their knees. Several of them have the same attitude as later on the Virgin holding the child Jesus, and the wonderful statues of

the Virgin Mary found in the earth at different periods (such is in more than one case the origin of what is called the "Black Virgins") were doubtless statues of Gaulish or Gallo-Roman mother-goddesses.

The forests were adored. The Black Forest was the *DEA ABNOBA*; the Ardenne the *DEA ARDVINNA*; the inscriptions *SEX ARBORIBVS* and *FATIS DERVONIBVS* "to the genii of the oaks" again testify to this. The dedication *VOSEGO* is addressed to the Vosges, mountain or forest, we do not know which. The *CAMPESTRES* were, as their name indicates, gods of the fields, for although the name is Latin, they are nevertheless Gaulish divinities. Perhaps it is another name for mother-goddesses. Rivers were also objects of worship, as is testified by the inscriptions, *DEÆ SEQVANÆ* (the Seine), *DEÆ ICAUNI* (the Yonne). The worship of fountains, which was very powerful since it has been kept up even to our time, has left few inscriptions because it was more humble; it seems, however, that some divinities as the *DEA CLUTONDA* and the *DEA ACIONNA* were sacred springs. The lakes were also sacred, for in the time of Gregory of Tours offerings were still brought to them, but no inscription refers to this worship. The towns further were divinities, that is, their patron deities bore their name in the worship; we have quoted the dedication *VASIONI* (to Vaison); also there are these, *NEMAVSO* (to Nîmes), *LUXOVIO* (to Luxeuil), *DEÆ BIBRACTI* (to Bibracte), etc. The local divinities themselves, that is, the divinities of whom one particular sanctuary acquired a special reputation, as the "Mercury of Puy de Dôme," *MERCVRIVS DVMIAS* or *ARVERNVS*, and others mentioned above, could form a separate class, for the celebrity of their sanctuaries made new gods of them. We have left out some divinities known by the inscriptions of the Rhine Valley, which, like *NEHALENNIA*, were probably German. The worship of the mother-goddesses, to which certain epithets point, seems to have been common to the Germans who inhabited with the Gauls the Valley of the Rhine.

We have spoken only of the principal divinities named in the inscriptions; the figured monuments acquaint us with other gods, but often without naming them, which renders identification

difficult. This is how we find in various places figures of a three-headed god, elsewhere the image of a god seated, the legs crossed in oriental fashion. Science is not yet sufficiently advanced to say anything of these gods. There are, on the other hand, divinities mentioned by classical writers which appear rarely in inscriptions, or which are absent altogether from them. Thus Lucan mentions *Taranis*, *Esus*, and *Teutates*, as the three great divinities of the Gauls; now, *Taranis* is met with in a slightly different form and in only three inscriptions,* *ESVS* in one only, and *TOVTATES* appears only as an epithet of Mars (and in Great Britain also). Lucian describes the Gaulish Hercules as god of eloquence, and calls him *Ogmios*; this name is not known elsewhere in Gaul, but is met with in Irish traditions; the ancient Irish gave to their writing the name of Ogam, and said it was invented by *Ogma*.—The *Dusii*, described as existent in Gaul by Saint Augustine (*De Civ. Dei*. xv., 23), were a kind of elves or gnomes.

* Now four inscription.

(To be continued.)

AN TIGH A THOG TORCUL.

So an coileach a ghoir anns a' mhadainn gu cruaidh,
 'Dhuisg an sagairt lom, maol,—aaron ceann agus gruaidh,
 A rinn posadh an duine bha luideagach, truagh,
 'Phog a' bhanarach og a bu ghlas-neulach snuadh,
 A bhleoghainn gu deas am mart croganach, ruadh,

A thug purradh do 'n chu,
 A rinn ablach d' an chat,
 A mharbh an radan,
 A ghoid a' bhraich,
 A bha taisgte 's an tigh a thog Torcul

—Eadar le I. B. O.

THE HISTORY OF THE MACLEODS.

[BY ALEXANDER MACKENZIE.]

(Continued.)

THE MACLEODS OF LEWIS.

IN the *Celtic Magazine* for April we completed the history of the main branch of the Macleods of Skye to date. It was intended before dealing with the other leading family of the name—the Macleods of Lewis—to give the history and genealogies of the principal branches of the house of Dunvegan, such as the Macleods of Talisker, Bernera, Gesto, Drynoch, and others, as well as an account and description of the famous Fairy Flag and Rory Mor's capacious drinking horn, both of which are carefully preserved in Dunvegan Castle. This plan has, however, been departed from for various reasons, the chief of which is that the author expects to obtain more valuable and extensive information concerning these important branches and ancient family relics than he now possesses. And he would take this opportunity of appealing to all the members of the clan, whatever branch of it they may belong to, to aid him by supplying such information, or directing him to the sources of such as will enable him to make the History of the Macleods—like his previous works on the Mackenzies, Macdonalds, and Camerons—worthy of that ancient Highland family.

The origin of the clan and the respective claims of the two leading families of Harris and the Lewis to seniority of descent and the chiefship were pretty fully discussed at the commencement of the work, in the November number of this magazine for 1885, and it is therefore unnecessary to reproduce the same facts and arguments here. It is admitted by both the leading families that

OLAVE THE BLACK, son of Godfred the Black, King of Man, who died about 1187, received the Island of Lewis for his heritage at the age of ten years, and that he afterwards succeeded, by the aid of Paul, Sheriff of Skye, about 1226, in repossessing himself of the then Sovereign Kingdom of Man and the Isles. He died about 1237, leaving, by his first wife, a daughter of one of the leading families of Kintyre, three sons—Harold, Reginald, and

Magnus, all of whom ruled in succession as Kings of Man and the Isles. Magnus died at the Castle of Ross in 1265, without issue, and the Island Kingdom came to an end in the following year, Man and the Isles having been surrendered by the King of Norway to Alexander the Third of Scotland, in terms of a treaty dated 1266.

Olave the Black had no issue by his second marriage, but by his third wife, Christina, daughter of Farquhar, Earl of Ross, he had three sons, the eldest of whom—

I. LEOD, LEODUS, or LLOYD became the progenitor of the Macleods of Harris and Lewis. A minor when his father died, he was brought up and fostered in the family of Paul, Son of Boke, Sheriff of Skye, who had been a supporter of his father, Olave the Black, and one of the most powerful men of his time in the Western Isles. Leod, already possessed of what we now know as the Island of Lewis, was presented by his foster-father, the Sheriff of Skye, with the lands of Harris, while his grandfather, the Earl of Ross, made over to him a part of the Barony of Glenelg, both of which afterwards became the heritage of his son Norman, progenitor of the Macleods of Dunvegan. Leod, who flourished in the reign of Alexander III. [1249-1285], acquired other vast possessions by his marriage to the only daughter and heiress of Macraild Armuinn, a Danish knight, who owned, and left to Leod's wife and to himself, the lands of Dunvegan, Minginish, Bracadale, Duirinish, Lyndale, and part of Troternish, in the Isle of Skye. By his marriage with the heiress of Dunvegan Leod had issue—TORMOD, progenitor of the Macleods of Harris, Glenelg, and Dunvegan, already dealt with at length in these articles, and TORQUIL, from whom descended the Macleods of Lewis, Waternish, Assynt, Coigeach, Gairloch, and Raasay. There would appear to be no doubt that the name Island of Lewis is simply the modern form of the "Island of Leodus"—in Gaelic, "Eilean Leodhais"—which originally included Harris, corroborating the unbroken tradition that this larger Lewis was the original heritage of Leod or Leodus, the common progenitor of both the leading families of the clan. And this is one of the main arguments used by the Macleods of Lewis and their branches in support of their claim to be the oldest

family and representing the ancient chiefs of their house. We have already given the reasons which have induced us to come to a different conclusion, but we shall here state the arguments used by the Macleods of Lewis and their descendants in support of their claim to the chiefship of the whole clan. They maintain, first, that their progenitor, Torquil, succeeded his father, Leod, in the Island of Lewis, which was the original and paternal estate of the family; secondly, that the descendants of Torquil always carried in their armorial bearings the arms of the Kings of Man and the Isles, their paternal ancestors; and, thirdly, that it has been the unvaried tradition in the family that Torquil was the eldest brother, and this is confirmed, they say, by Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, Lord Lyon King-at-Arms, and by Buchanan's History of the Origin of the Clans, published in 1723. He did not, however, succeed to the whole of the Lewis of that date, which included Harris, and which was, as we have seen, presented to him afterwards by the Sheriff of Skye, who then owned it.

The island of Lewis, which with Harris formed the "Llodthus" of the Sagas, and the residence of whose lords was the Castle of Stornoway, appears on record in 1263, in which year Haco, King of Norway, came thither and met Earl Birger, and afterwards touched at it on his expedition in that year against Scotland. In 1292 the lands of "Lodoux" (Lewis) were included in the Sheriffdom of Skye, erected by King John Balliol. In 1335 Edward Balliol granted in heritage to John, first Lord of the Isles, for his allegiance, the isle of "Lewethy" (Lewis), and other lands, and in 1336 Edward III. of England confirmed the grant. In 1344 King David II. of Scotland granted the same lands to the same John, and they remained in his hands in 1367. In 1382 or 1383 King Robert II. granted to his own son, Alexander Stewart, Earl of Buchan, and Lady Euphemia, Countess of Ross, the baronies and Lordship of Skye and of the Lewis, which Lady Euphemia had previously resigned. Lewis and the other isles were forfeited by John, fourth Lord of the Isles, in 1475, to whom they were restored in 1476, confirmed to him by James III. in 1478, and in 1493 they were again forfeited by the same Lord of the Isles.* From these facts it appears conclusive that

* *Origines Parochiales Scotia*, p. 382.

the Lewis must have been held for several generations from the Lords of the Isles, who were the immediate Superiors under the Crown. According to Skene, the first charter on record from the Crown in favour of the Macleods of Lewis is one by David II. to Torquil Macleod, of the barony of Assynt, and in that charter he is not designated "of the Lewis" or of anywhere else. A charter by Donald of the Isles, grandson of Somerled, Thane of Argyle, and in which he styles himself King of the Isles, to Lord John Bisset, dated at his Castle of Dingwall, on the 19th of January, 1245, is, however, witnessed by his "beloved cousines and councillors," Macleod of Lewis and Macleod of Harris.

It will be observed that Harris was a portion of the "Llodthus," or Lewis, of those days, which appears to have been divided between the two sons of Leod, Norman and Torquil, thus very much weakening the argument on which the descendants of the latter base their claim to the chiefship—upon his having succeeded to what is known in modern times as the Lewis, but which only formed a portion of it in those days.

Leod was succeeded in the Lewis by his second son—

II. TORQUIL MAC LEOD, second of Lewis, of whose history nothing is known. From him the Macleods of Lewis derive their Gaelic patronymic of *Sìol Thorcuil*, or Torquil's descendants. Born in the reign of Alexander the Third, he died in that of King Robert the Bruce.—[1306-1329]. He married Dorothea, daughter of his Superior in the lands of Lewis, William, Earl of Ross, with issue—

1. Norman, his heir, and successor,
2. Finguala, who married Kenneth Mackenzie, III. of Kintail, with issue, Murdoch, who carried on the succession and died in 1375.

Torquil was succeeded by his only son,

III. NORMAN MACLEOD, third of the Lewis, who did not long survive his father. He married and left one son, who succeeded him—

IV. TORQUIL MACLEOD, fourth of Lewis. Douglas says that he was granted a charter by King David II.—*Torquilo Macleod de Lewis, terrarum baronie de Assynt cum fortalicio*, etc., etc., giving as his authority the "Index to King David's Book of

Charters, in the Public Archives." Skene, however, states [*Highlanders of Scotland*, Vol. II., p. 247] that Macleod is not designated "de Lewis" in this charter, "nor has he any designation whatever" in it. From 1344, Gregory informs us "the Siol Torquil held Lewis as vassals of the house of Isla," and that in the same reign [David the Second's] Torquil Macleod, chief of the tribe, had a royal grant of the lands of Assint in Sutherland.* This extensive barony he obtained by marriage with Margaret MacNicol, heiress of the lands in question, which afterwards, early in the fifteenth century, were given in vassalage by Roderick Macleod, V. of Lewis, to his younger son, Tormod, progenitor of the later Macleods of Assynt, Geanies, and Cadboll.

Torquil died in the reign of Robert II.—[1371-1390]—when he was succeeded by his only son by his wife, Margaret MacNicol of Assynt,

V. RODERICK MACLEOD, fifth of Lewis. "In 1449 a charter of John of Yle is witnessed by Roderick Macleoid of Leoghuis.† He married Margaret, daughter of the Lord of the Isles, with issue—

1. Torquil, his heir and successor.
2. Tormod, to whom his father gave the barony of Assynt, and who became progenitor of the Macleods of that extensive district and other places on the Mainland, and of whom hereafter.
3. Margaret, who, as his second wife, married William Mackintosh VII. of Mackintosh with issue; among others, Malcolm Beg, who succeeded his nephew, Ferquhard, as X. of Mackintosh, and carried on the succession, though his uncle Ferquhard left three sons, the eldest of whom was the legal heir.‡

Roderick died at an advanced age, when he was succeeded by his eldest son,

* *History of the Western Highlands and Isles of Scotland*, p.p. 72-73.

† *Origines Parochiales Scotiæ*, p. 382; and Register of the Great Seal, XIII., No. 186.

‡ According to the *History of the Mackintoshes and Clanchattan* by Alexander Mackintosh Shaw, 1880, Ferquhard the IXth chief "gave up a position which he had neither the ability to fill, nor the wish to retain," his three sons at the same time being cut off from the succession. It would thus appear that the subsequent *de facto* heads of the Mackintoshes are not the legitimate chiefs of their own clan, to say nothing of their claim to be the chiefs of Clanchattan. All Ferquhard's sons had issue, and they are said to have several descendants now living.

VI.—TORQUIL MACLEOD, sixth of Lewis. He is said to have made "a great figure" in the reign of James II. [1437-1460.] In 1461 a charter of the same John of Yle, whose charter was witnessed by Roderick Macleod in 1449, was "witnessed by Torquell Macleoid of Leoghos."* He married with issue, his heir and successor.

VII.—RODERICK MACLEOD, seventh of Lewis, who is on record in 1476; also in 1478, 1493, and 1494. In the latter year, Roderick Macleod of the Lewis and John Macian of Ardnamurchan made their submission to King James IV.† Gregory says, p. 73, that this Roderick was grandson of a former chief of the same name. In a Latin charter, under the Great Seal, dated 10th November, 1495, in favour of Hugh Macdonald, first of the family of Sleat, we find him designated "Roderico Macleod de Leoghys," and Gregory says that this Roderick was "the head of the Siol Torquil" in 1493. He appears to have been a most cruel monster. This is placed beyond question by the cold-blooded assassination of his own relatives in the following horrible manner:—Allan Macleod of Gairloch had married as his second wife a daughter of this Roderick, by whom he had one son. Roderick determined to murder all the male issue of Macleod of Raasay, and those of Macleod of Gairloch by Mackenzie's daughter, that his own grandson, by Allan Macleod's second marriage, might succeed. With this view he invited all the members of the two families—with whom he was connected by marriage with the widow of Mackay of Reay, a daughter of Mackenzie of Kintail—to the Island of Isay, in Lochbay, Waternish, pretending that he had matters of great consequence to communicate to them. All the members of both families accepted the invitation. Roderick feasted them sumptuously, on their arrival, at a great banquet. In the middle of the festivities he informed them of his desire to have each man's advice separately, saying that he would afterwards make known to them the momentous business to be considered, and which closely concerned each of them. He then retired into a separate apartment, calling them in one by one, when each, as he entered, was stabbed with a dirk through the body

* Argyll Charters.

† Register of the Great Seal, June, 1494, VIII., 128, 123.

by a set of murderous villains whom Roderick had appointed for the purpose. Not one of the family of Raasay was left alive except a boy nine years of age, who was being fostered from home, and who had been sent privately, when the news of the massacre had gone abroad, to the Laird of Calder, who kept him in safety during his minority. Macleod of Gairloch's sons, by Hector Roy's sister, were all murdered. Roderick took his own grandson into an inner room, where the boy heard one of his brothers cry on being stabbed by the assassins, and said to his brutal grandfather, "Yon's my brother's cry." "Hold your peace," old Rory replied, "yonder cry is to make you laird of Gairloch; he is the son of one of Mackenzie's daughters." The boy, dreading that his own life might be sacrificed, held his tongue, "but afterwards he did what in him lay in revenging the cruel death of his brothers and kinsmen on the murderers." Our informant says that this was the first step that Hector Roy Mackenzie got to Garloch. "Allan Macleod (Hector's brother-in-law) gave him the custody of their rights, but when he (Hector) found his nephews were murdered, he took a new gift of it (Gairloch) to himself, and, going to Garloch with a number of Kintail men and others, he took a heirschip with him, but such as were alive of the Shiol 'ille Challum of Garloch, followed him and fought him at a place called Glasleoid, but they being beat, Hector carried away the heirschip. After this and several other skirmishes they were content to allow him the two-thirds of Garloch, providing he would let themselves possess the other third in peace, which he did, and they kept possession till Hector's great-grandchild put them from it." The Earl of Cromarty, and the other MS. historians of the family, corroborate this. The Earl says that Hector, "incited to revenge" by the foul murder of his nephews, made some attempt to oust the Macleods from Gairloch during John of Killin's minority, but was unwilling to engage in a war with such a powerful chief as Macleod of Lews, while he considered himself insecure in his other possessions, but after arranging matters amicably with his nephew of Kintail, and being now master of a fortune and possessions suitable to his mind and quality, he resolved to avenge the murder and to "make it productive of his own advantage." He summoned all those who were accessory to the assassination of his sister's

children before the Chief Justice. Their well-grounded fears made them absent themselves from Court. According to another authority, Hector produced the bloody shirts of the murdered boys, whereupon the murderers were declared fugitives and outlaws, and a commission granted in his favour for their pursuit, "which he did so resolutely manage that in a short time he killed many, preserved some to justice, and forced the remainder to a composition advantageous to himself."

Roderick married Agnes, eldest daughter of Kenneth Mackenzie, "a Bhlair," IX. of Kintail, by Agnes Fraser, daughter of Hugh, third Lord Lovat, with issue—

1. Torquil, his heir.

2. Malcolm, who, in 1511, succeeded his brother, Torquil, forfeited a few years before.

He died in 1498, when he was succeeded by his eldest son.

(To be continued.)

THE SUPPOSED DRUID PROVERBS.

SOME of our proverbs that purport to bear on religious customs and especially on Druidic matters require very careful handling. We had occasion ourselves to be puzzled over a proverb which seemed so authentic as "Edir da hin Veaul or Bel" (Martin), "Edir da theine Bheil" (Shaw), etc.; we found it in Toland, of course, "Itir dha theine Bheil," and he explained it by reference to the Phenician god Bel or Baal. Though we rejected this, yet we knew that Apollo was known in Gaul as Belinus, and might this not be a form of that god's name? It was not until we found the correct form of the proverb in honest Dr. Macqueen's words (Pennant, III., 435), "He is betwixt two Beltein fires," that we thoroughly understood it. For Cormac explains that two fires were lighted on Beltane to which they used to bring their cattle and drive them through between as preventative against disease. Another Druidic proverb is clearly a similar perversion; it is—

"Ge fagus clach do làr

'S faigse na sin cabhair *Choibhi*," (Smith)

[Not nearer the stone to earth than Coifi's aid.]

This *Coibhi*, we are told, was the official name of the Gaelic arch-Druid; the authority for this statement is Bede, who makes *Coifi* the name of the chief priest of King Edwin of Northumbria; that is *Coifi* was an individual's name and that individual was an Anglian! This is the pseudo-learning of Dr. Macpherson and Dr. Smith and what it lands them in. We believe that *Choibhi* of the proverb is the old name of the Deity in his providential aspect *Condiu* (Book of Deer, etc.), and now obsolete in common speech, but known lexically as *Coimhdhe*.

GEORGE, FOURTH EARL OF CAITHNESS OF THE SINCLAIR LINE.

[BY GEORGE M. SUTHERLAND, F.S.A. SCOT., WICK.]

IN the month of July, 1567, the Earl and Countess of Sutherland were poisoned at Helmsdale. Sir Robert Gordon alleges that the poisoning took place at the instrumentality of the Earl of Caithness, but of this there was not the slightest evidence. Sir Robert is too keen a partisan, and as his *History of the House and Clan of Sutherland* was written with a most malignant and one-sided bias against the Sinclairs, many of his statements are not to be relied on in any way. The poison on the occasion in question was prepared and administered at supper at Helmsdale Castle by, as Sir Robert Gordon informs us, "Issobel Sinclair (the wyff of Gilbert Gordoun of Gartay, and the sister of William Sinclair, laird of Dunbeath), at the instigation of George Sinclair, Earle of Catteynes." It has been said that her name was Elizabeth, and not Issobel. Alexander, the son of the Earl of Sutherland, also narrowly escaped being poisoned. He had been away hunting in Kildonan, and before his return the father was aware that he himself had been poisoned, and that he had only a short time to live. He therefore sent the son, without supper, to Dunrobin Castle, and from thence to Skibo Castle. The following morning the Earl of Sutherland and his Countess were carried to Dunrobin, where they both died about five days thereafter, and were "buried in the Cathedrall Church at Dornogh."

Assuming that the Earl of Caithness had some part in the poisoning of the Earl of Sutherland, it is not easy to trace his reason for so doing. On the other hand, the motive of the wife of Gilbert Gordon is quite apparent, for if she had contrived to get the Earl and Countess of Sutherland and their son, Alexander, out of the way by poisoning, then her own eldest son would have succeeded to the Earldom of Sutherland. Her husband was the fourth son of Adam Gordon, the previous Earl. Unfortunately for her a servant gave to her own son a draught of the deadly poison unintentionally, and in the course of two days he died. Sir Robert Gordon states that it was the sudden death of Issobel

Sinclair's own son, and the manner thereof, "together with the tokens which were found and remarked upon his bodie, in the Church of Golspie, at his buriall," that led to the discovery that she had caused Earl John's death. She was taken to Edinburgh, tried, found guilty, and sentenced to death. She however, died on the morning fixed for her execution. It is alleged that after her sentence she blamed the Earl of Caithness for having induced her to commit the crime. But of this there was no proof in writing, or even personally, that he had by himself or through others got her to commit the deed with which she had been charged. The Earl of Caithness, as the Heritable Justiciar of the County, punished those whom he considered were engaged in the plot, while Sir Robert contends that he condemned those who were faithful to the Earl of Sutherland, and that he spared the guilty.

It appears that territorial possessions engaged the attention of the Earl, and from time to time there were transfers of property to and from members even of his own family. There are many deeds and other writings relative to family transactions during the period in which he held the Earldom in the charter chest of the present Earl of Caithness. In 1580 there is a renunciation by John Keith, Captain of Ackergill, to George, Earl of Caithness, of a wadset of Scatland in Reiss, of date 30th September, 1580. On 7th May, 1550, Lawrence, Lord Oliphant of Auldwick Castle, disposed the Mill of Gillock to the Earl of Caithness. In 1539 there is a sasine in favour of Elizabeth Sutherland, Countess of Caithness, of the lands of Canisbay, etc. In the month of March, 1545, the Countess and her son John, the Master of Caithness, who subsequently died in the dungeon at Girnigoe, got into trouble, for in that year she raised a summons against the Master of Caithness, in the Sheriff Court of Inverness, to compel him to account for certain rents which he had intromitted with belonging to her. On 10th February, 1573, Lady Barbara Sinclair, daughter of George, Earl of Caithness, granted a renunciation to her father of various lands in Sutherland and Caithness. She was life-rentrix of the lands of Brims, Lythmore, Forse, and others. This deed was signed at Keiss Castle. In August, 1567, a discharge was granted by William, Earl Marischall, and Margaret Keith, his

Countess, of their intromissions at Ackergill. The Earl of Caithness, while he did all in his power to strengthen his hold over the neighbouring County of Sutherland, also directed his attention to the Orkney Islands, for on the 17th day of July, 1560, he entered into a contract of mutual help and assistance with Magnus Halcro of Brugh, Orkney.

On the death of the Earl of Sutherland, the Earl of Caithness became the guardian of the young Earl of Sutherland, then only fifteen years of age. From this connection, as well as from the office of Justiciar, the Earl of Caithness acquired almost royal power in the County of Sutherland, but on account of his overbearing disposition, and his indifference to the welfare of others, he was thoroughly hated by the people of Sutherland. He forthwith took the young Earl as his ward to Girnigoe, where he treated him very kindly, and got him to marry his eldest daughter, Lady Barbara Sinclair, who was about thirty years of age at the time. There was evidently very little grief over the death of the Earl of Sutherland, and little time elapsed between the date of death and the date of marriage—the death having taken place in the month of July and the marriage in the following month of August. On this point there is in the charter chest of the Earldom a notarial instrument following on a contract of marriage between Alexander Gordon, Earl of Sutherland, and Barbara Sinclair, eldest daughter of George, Earl of Caithness. It is dated at Girnigoe Castle, on 9th August, 1567. There is also in existence the draft inventory of the goods and effects of the Earl of Sutherland, taken in 1567, when the Earl of Caithness took the guardianship of the young Earl of Sutherland.

King James the V. of Scotland, when at Rouen in 1537, issued a revocation of all lands which had been granted during his minority, and annexed them to the Crown. This applied to the Hebrides, and Tytler, in his *History of Scotland*, narrates—“To these also were added the Orkney and Shetland Islands, the seat of the rebellion of the Earl of Caithness.”

In March, 1542, a Crown gift of non-entry of the Earldom of Caithness was granted in favour of George, Earl of Caithness, the grandson of William, Earl of Caithness.

The Earl of Caithness resided occasionally in Edinburgh, and

took a keen interest in political affairs, more especially in the time of Queen Mary. He was on all occasions fully alive to his own interests, and by natural parts and long experience was able to maintain his position and skilfully to wriggle out of any troubles into which the vicissitudes of the times might have led him into. In 1542 he voted for the appointment of the Earl of Arran as Governor of the Realm; and, 1554, he signed the bond to the Duke of Chatelherault warranting him against any action for his intromissions with the Queen's money, jewels, etc.

It cannot be said that the Earl troubled himself much about religion, and although the Lord James received certain instructions from the Scottish Parliament in May, 1560, anent a mission to the young Queen as to mass and other matters, a secret convention was entered into by the Roman Catholic party to send Lesley of Aberdeen to the French Court with "offers of service and expressions of devoted attachment." The Earl of Caithness was one of the secret convention, along with the Earls of Huntly, Athole, Sutherland, and others. The Earl of Caithness was also present at the meeting of the nobility which Queen Mary summoned to attend at Stirling on the 15th of May, 1565, to deliberate upon her proposed marriage with Lord Darnley. At the convention no one opposed the Queen's wish in the matter.

There is little doubt that shortly thereafter the Earl of Caithness was an assenting party to the murder of Darnley. It is considered by some that he had no hand whatever in the proceedings—that he was shrewd enough to take care of himself by keeping in the back ground. Tytler states that the Earls of Huntly, Argyll, and Caithness, and others had engaged in the conspiracy. At that period all the nobles were partisans on certain sides, and the Earl of Caithness certainly sympathised at heart with the views of those who were engaged in the plot, if not, as Tytler writes, engaged directly in the conspiracy. At any rate he would have very little conscientious scruples at being engaged in such a transaction.

(To be continued.)

MACCUIL GLENFHODHAG.

[BY DR. CORBET.]

DURING the period of Rob Roy's celebrated career, and for some time thereafter, there lived in Glenfhiodhag, Argyleshire, a cateran, whose name was MacCuil. He was tenant of a scion of the Argyll family, and besides farming the whole glen, increased his wealth as a well-known and successful freebooter, making many raids throughout the length and breadth of the land. His pretensions were great; he fed sumptuously, arrogated a style and assumed an air of consequential self-importance second to none. I never heard his name in an English form, but probably it was Macdougall.

But, poor man, notwithstanding his greatness, he was a bachelor, a fault he much wished to remedy. Over and above trusting to his own keen eye in choosing a lady likely to meet his views, he made inquiries and took the advice of a number of acquaintances. At last he made up his mind to take a *Beantigh* to himself from the Lovat country. Of all the young ladies brought under his notice, a daughter of MacThomais's was the one who took his fancy the most, and of these there were three of good family, accomplished, handsome, beautiful, and young.

There is a Gaelic cognomen for the various chief families of the Fraser clan. The chief is MacShimie, another family is that of MacHuistean, another MacRobbie, and so on. The MacThomais's were the old Frasers of Belladrum, now extinct. They were descended from a second son of Culbokie (MacHuistean), who was a second son of Lovat.

Tall, handsome, and powerfully built, MacCuil dressed himself out in his best as a Highland chief of the day. He was armed to the teeth, with his musket, pistols, broadsword and daggers; and his good and faithful dog was by his side. Starting, as he did, at the break of day for the Aird, it could not be said of him that he rode all unarmed, or that he rode all alone, for, besides his good broadsword, he had weapons enough, and he walked on foot. Not knowing his way, he made the sun his only guide for the way to Belladrum House. At the end of his first

day's journey he came upon a solitary cottage in an out-of-the-way place, and entered it with unceremonious swagger and spirit. Its sole occupant was an old bachelor, a weaver, who was busily plying his shuttle across his loom. Interrupted by the appearance of such a heroic stranger, he gazed at him in silent amazement. MacCuil said (the conversation took place in Gaelic), "I came here to make my stay for the night." The weaver replied, "I never allow any person to stay under my roof without first asking leave." MacCuil answered, "I am to remain whether you will allow me or not." The weaver got up from his loom and said, "We will see." He at once set about expelling the intruder. The tussle was long and strong. At one time MacCuil would be near the door, at another time the weaver would be sent back to the far-off end of his house near the loom. The weaver was lithe and powerful. In this affair honour was concerned and his rage aroused. He set to with might and main to eject the bold, unmannerly bully from out his house. At last he sent him reeling out to a considerable distance. MacCuil, seeing that he was not quite a match for the weaver, begged to be allowed to have a night's lodgings, feeling crestfallen enough, no doubt. His request was at once generously granted. He got the best fare the house could provide, and he and the weaver became the best of friends.

We hear no more of MacCuil nor of his adventures by the way until we find him arrived a stranger at the Mill of Belladrum, where at once his appearance attracted considerable attention. It was an important day for the Belladrum tenantry. Many of them congregated along with Belladrum himself to see a new millstone placed in the mill. The stone was heavy, and tried the strength and skill of all those who could get about it to raise it to its place. MacCuil came up and told the whole set (*graisg*) of them to be out of his way, and that he would alone put the stone into the right place. They made way for him, he at once set the stone standing on edge, crouched at the back of it, made it rest on his back, and then put his hands under it backwards. He then rose up with his load and carried it to its place, astonishing the natives by his strength. Mr. Fraser of Belladrum thanked him for his kindness, and invited him to dinner, although he was

a stranger and without introduction. He assured him that he performed a feat which took him by surprise, and further complimented him on the performance. MacCuil gladly availed himself of the offer, as meeting his desires in every respect. As they sat at dinner word came to Belladrum that the stranger's dog was ill, and refusing to take any meat. MacCuil asked what kind of meat was set before the dog, and he was told. He explained that his dog would not take ordinary dog's meat, being accustomed to the best of food. "Chan e cu cladaich tha agamsa," says he, "ach cuilean monaidh; thoiribh feol dha agus ithidh e gu leoir dheth." "Feumaidh e bhith," said MacThomais to his servants, "gur e duine cothramach tha so; thoiribh feol dha' chu." MacCuil was kept all night. Before retiring for the night, like Eliezer of Damascus, he told the object of his journey to the Laird of Belladrum and his lady, who, after consultation, told him that they would leave the damsels to decide for themselves, that next day he would get opportunity to speak to them while they both would be from home, and that if he found one of them willing to become his wife, they would offer no objection. The proffered opportunity came. MacCuil made the first offer to Miss Fraser, by asking "Am pos thu mi?" (Will you marry me?) She at once answered, "Cha phos" (No). "Mar pos thu mi cha phos mi thu" (If you won't, then I won't marry you), said MacCuil. The same process was gone through with the second daughter, the questions and answers being in every respect the same. The third daughter was then approached; MacCuil put the question, "Am pos thu mi." "Posaidh" (Yes), she replied. MacCuil said, "Ma phosas thu mi, posaidh mi thu" (If you will marry me, I will marry you). In due time MacCuil got married to the youngest Miss Fraser of Belladrum, and then came home in safety to his own house in Glenfhiodhag. Mrs. MacCuil intended to keep up the same style of living that she had ever seen kept up at Belladrum. The style of spooning out the butter was not at all agreeable to Mr. MacCuil's taste. One morning after breakfast he took Mrs. MacCuil out to see the larder. It was a shed full of butter dishes, called in Gaelic *meadar*, each containing a Highland stone of butter, and there was one for every day of the year. He took one of them and opened it up;

then taking his dagger out of its sheath from his hose he quartered the butter and asked Mrs. MacCuil to put a quarter on the table every morning to breakfast, and what they did not consume themselves to give to the servants and the dogs.

Matters went on smoothly in this manner for a number of years. It appears, however, that in these days as now there were factors and landowners who desired a rise in the rent roll. With others MacCuil got notice that his rent next term was to be raised to a certain sum named which he would have to pay at all future terms. To this intimation MacCuil lent a deaf ear. He was determined that he would never pay more than the old rent. For a series of years he called on rent day with the old rent and laid it on the table. The factor refused it on all occasions, and expostulated with MacCuil, who at once replaced it in his sporran, and took it back home with him, nor had he any scruples of conscience. At last the laird was determined not to be done out of his rents, and he made up his mind to put the law in full force. He got warrants and constables to get the warrants executed. They decided to come on MacCuil unawares; and, thinking there would be good fun over the matter, the laird and lady of the estate accompanied them. MacCuil was not found sleeping. He moved about on one of his best horses and saw the expedition making for his place, and at once understood what they were about. The river at this time was in full flood after a great "spate" of rain. This brought the expedition to a halt, as it could not cross without boats. This was MacCuil's opportunity. He spurred his horse forward and dashed unhesitatingly through the surging stream. He gained the bank on the other side of the river, seized Mrs. Campbell, the proprietor's lady, and placed her on the saddle before him. He then dashed back through the river, and brought the lady in safety to his house, and none dared to follow him.

Mrs. MacCuil, seeing the proprietor's lady in her own house, made her heartily welcome, and, after salutations and explanations of the circumstances of the case, Mrs. Campbell had a table set before her with all the dainties of the season, as far as these were procurable at the time and place. She had all the comforts of a respectable home, and the attentions of a lady of the same station,

birth, and education as herself. Mrs. Campbell felt as much at home as could be expected in the circumstances, for she was to get home as soon as the weather cleared up and the river was fit for crossing. She remained in the house for about six weeks, when a friendship and intimacy sprung up between the ladies that was never forgotten. On getting home, Mrs. Campbell influenced her husband so much by telling of his tenant's lady and her kindness to her, that MacCuil was left in the farm unmolested at the old rent, and the legal proceedings were abandoned.

Mr. Campbell, the proprietor of the Glen, formed the happy idea that MacCuil was the right and proper person for executing the designs of Government at this time. They were resolved to put down freebooting, and were determined to make the power of the law be felt in the remotest corners of the land. MacCuil was one of these very freebooters himself, and MacThearlich was at Inverlochy, and Rob Roy in Perthshire. So Campbell thought that to set a thief to catch a thief was the best plan. He took MacCuil into his secrets, and offered a price for the life of the Highland robbers. MacCuil had none of the finer and more honourable feelings for which Highlanders as a rule are so much distinguished; for £30,000 he would at once betray Bonnie Prince Charlie. He listened to these offers, and in a manner repugnant at once to the rights of hospitality and the duties of friendship, compassed the death of MacThearlich. For he visited MacThearlich at Inverlochy, and was received most hospitably by the old man. While they were conversing amicably together, MacCuil suddenly drew his dagger, stabbed his friend to death, and escaped unscathed. As a consequence, MacCuil was execrated by the country at large, and he gradually sunk into obscurity and poverty. His sons and daughters fell into beggary and destitution. They were of great strength. It is related of one of his daughters that she would catch a large species of serpent, now extinct, by the tail and shake it until its inward parts were cast out of its mouth. MacCuil's descendants were, as my information goes, not more honest than they should be, and put the Government to some expense to provide rope in the days when sheep-stealing was an offence that brought a man to the end of his tether in that way.

CORRESPONDENCE.

"OSSIAN" MACPHERSON AND THE LAUREATESHIP.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "CELTIC MAGAZINE."

Sir,—Since you sat in the editorial chair you are said to have crowned a new bard of the Gaelic tongue and race. I never could understand Ossian very much, and all my life I cried *mea culpa* in regard to my obtuseness, and yet I grudge to see the wreath of white heather taken off the marble brow of the blind grandson of Cumhal. To have it placed on the head even of another of our language and race does not seem compensation enough. Let us hope that the royal bard composed a thousand poems and songs, which, although they may be now lost to us, may have helped towards the education and enlightenment of our race. The ideal Ossian—if you insist upon the term—was an apostle, and even if you slay him, Mr. Editor, his ghost will unfold itself upon the mists of the past, and even of the future, and he will whisper to generations unborn of the beauty of the women, whose love was the reward of the heroes, who after war and chase feasted joyously in the hall of spears.

However, Mr. Editor, I find that Mr. James Macpherson declared himself a great poet long ago. In the *Edinburgh Magazine* for 1785, his name appears in the list of candidates for the office of Poet Laureate. The following is from the above, and is given as his probationary poem :—

DUAN.

In the True Ossian Sublimity.

BY MR. MACPHERSON.

Does the wind touch thee, oh Harp,
Or is it some passing ghost?
Is it thy hand,
Spirit of the departed *scrutiny*!
Bring me the harp, pride of Chatham!
Snow is on thy bosom,
Maid of the modest eye!
A song shall rise!

Every soul shall depart at the sound!!!
The withered thistle shall crown my head!!!!
I behold thee, oh King!
I behold thee sitting on mist.
Thy form is like a watery cloud
Singing in the deep like an oyster!!!!
Thy face is like the beams of the setting moon.

Thy eyes are of two decaying flames!
Thy nose is like the spear of Rollo!!!
Thy ears are like three bossy shields,
Strangers shall rejoice at thy chin.
The ghosts of dead Tories shall hear me in their airy hall!
The withered thistle shall crown my head!
Bring me the harp,
Son of Chatham!
But thou, oh King, give me the lance!

There was a mistake in one of the proverbs I sent you. It ought to have been thus—"S ioma rud a bhios mu thigh nach bi mu theine, agus s' ioma rud a bhios mu theine nach bi mu thigh."

The first part refers to the petty annoyances that may be in the outer circle of home, but which will not be repeated at the hearth; and the second part refers to the private matters discussed by the inner circle around the hearth, but which will not be carried beyond it.

MARY MACKELLAR.

Edinburgh, May 11th, 1887.

SONGS OF THE SHEALING.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "CELTIC MAGAZINE."

DEAR SIR,—I am sure I only express the sentiments of many readers of your journal when I say that the "Snatches of Song" sent you by your correspondent "T. S." must prove of intense interest to all Highlanders. His contributions to your issue for May are more than ordinarily captivating. The subject with which they principally deal—life on the *airidh*—is altogether a most suggestive one; and when looked at from our time presents Highland character to us in some of its most pleasing aspects. While I earnestly hope that "T. S." has not exhausted his store of ballads and songs, I must state that much work yet remains to be done in collecting those poetical effusions of our forefathers which sprang from that old Highland institution, the *airidh*. Nearly half their time was passed in that rather primitive but happy state, and it can be no mere assertion to say that much of their history must be associated with it. Some of the finest and most delightful productions in Highland poetry have come down to us from those truly pastoral times.

Among the many pieces which I was in the habit of hearing in my youth is the following:—

Air bhi dhomhsa gu ciuin riut
'S mi bhi 'tionndadh gu dlu riut
Bha t' fhuil chraobhach a' bruchdadh
Tromh d' leine.

Bha t' fhuil chraobhach a' sileadh
'Si gun doigh air a pilleadh
'S tu bhi marbh ann an innis
Na spreidhe.

Gur i 'bhiodag a chiurr thu—
'Thainig ort air do chulaobh—
'S thainig teachdair do t' ionnsuidh
Nach treig thu.

'S gur i Mairi nigh'n Iain
A dh'fhag am bròn -s' air mo chridhe,
'S cha dean plasdha no lighich
Bonn feum dhomh.

'S tu an leine chaol anairt
 Gun bhann-duirn oir' no bannan,
 Rìgh ! Rìgh ! nach bu mhath
 'Bhi le 'cheil ann.
 Tha mo chairdean am barail
 Bho 'n 's e 'm bas rinn ar sgaradh
 Gu faigh iadsa te fhathasd
 'Ni feum dhomh.
 Ach chan'eil i air thalamh
 'S cha d' rugadh i fhathasd,
 Aon te eile 'gheibh brath
 Air mo reusan.

I do not know to what particular county the above belongs. Perhaps "T. S." will throw some light on its nativity. It is beautifully pathetic, and, though extremely simple, tells its sad tale in the most effective manner.—I am, yours, etc.,

A. MACDONALD.

Inverness, 9th May.

NOTES AND NEWS.

SUCCESS of a most gratifying kind attends the Gaelic services in the Crown Court Church, London. These services, which are monthly, were started last year under the auspices of the Gaelic Society of London. Some of our most eminent Gaelic preachers and scholars have preached there before the London Gael—the latest being no other than Dr. Stewart of "Nether-Lochaber" fame.

THE London Gaelic Society is also active in another direction. Their proposed Gaelic Conference has been well received. They have received replies—favourable to the proposal—from the leading men of the Gaelic movement in Scotland. These replies the Society intends to publish at an early date.

THE redoubtable Mr. Hector Maclean ofIslay is at present giving his views in the *Oban Times* on Ossian and Macpherson. He is a well-known upholder of the view that Macpherson's Ossian is just Macpherson's own work, more or less—less than more—founded on the old ballads and traditions. Mr. Maclean has attacked the problem of the Gaelic of Macpherson's Ossian, and he finds, as in the opening of the Fingal, that the Gaelic is a translation of the English, and that too an unidiomatic one. He points out that the line

"Shuidh Cuchullin aig balla Thura."

means not "Cuchullin sat at Tura's wall," that is, "was sitting" at Tura's wall, but Cuchullin "had sat" or "took his seat" at Tura's wall. The English requires the action to be past progressive, but the Gaelic expresses pluperfect time instead, a

time which, moreover, does not suit the meaning of the passage. In regard to Macpherson's appropriation of the heroic literature of his race and his use of it, Mr. Maclean says :—"Mostly all great and original poets have done as he has done—Shakespeare, Spenser, Byron, Tennyson—whatever their genius comes in contact with is changed as by a magic wand. I am not to be understood as putting James Macpherson in the same rank with William Shakespeare and John Milton—the distance between the former and the latter two is very great indeed—still I contend that Macpherson is both an eminent and an original poet. He has drawn altogether from nature ; he sings what he had seen and the traditions which he has heard from living lips—the heath-covered moors, the steep cliffs, the lofty mountains, the roaring torrents, the wild storms, the moon and clouds, the moss-covered cairns and their associations with ancient times and heroes ; the hunt and the deer, and the ghosts of dead warriors. He loves dim colours, such as the scenery of his native land presented to him. His fancy brings the dusky Highland landscape with it even to Ireland. There the lovely green knolls and dales of Ullin are overlooked, and the mind of the bard dwells fondly on the heath of Lena and the lake of roes. He delights in night scenery—and those who have not travelled over heathy hills and wastes at night have no notion of what charms night, moonlight, starlight, and a sprinkling of clouds impart to the view."

THE Gaelic Society of Inverness brought, on Wednesday, 18th May, a very successful session to a close. The series of papers delivered were always of importance and interest, and the new volume may be counted on as one which will rank equal to any of its predecessors. The session began with a learned paper by Sheriff Liddall, and ended with an equally learned one by Professor Mackinnon. The Professor's subject was "Words and Phrases as Index to Character." From proverbs, idioms, and words, Professor Mackinnon illustrated phases of character peculiar to the Celts and interesting relics of customs and manners which go back to an antiquity which history cannot touch.

THE *Academy* of the 21st May contains a notice of M. D'Arbois de Jubainville's paper in our last issue. As the reviewer makes some important suggestions, we here reproduce his remarks :—"The May number of the *Celtic Magazine* contains an interesting article by M. D'Arbois de Jubainville on 'Celts and Germans.' The writer gives an excellent summary of the grounds on which the Celtic languages are known to be more nearly related to the Italic than to the Teutonic branch of the Aryan family. The special purpose of the paper, however, is to show from the nature of the Celtic loan-words found in common Teutonic that the undivided Teutonic people must at some period have been subject to Celtic rule, as the words chiefly relate to matters of civil and military administration. The epoch of Celtic ascendancy, of which the linguistic facts are the record, is identified by M. de Jubainville with that of the Gaulish empire founded by Ambigatos towards the end of the sixth century B.C. It is much to be wished that some competent scholar would thoroughly discuss the question of the probable sources of Livy's account of the conquests of Ambigatos and his nephews, and the amount of credence which may be given to it. That it is in substance historical there can be little doubt, however difficult it may be to understand through what channel it was handed down to the age of Augustus."